WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL

SARTRE DISCUSSING LEGAL FORMATION (private sessions). (l. to r.) Mahmud Ali Kasuri (Supreme Court, Pakistan); Lelio Basso; Mehmet Ali Aybar (M.P., Turkey); Jean-Paul Sartre; Kinji Morikawa (Japan); and Setsure Tsurushima (Japan).

by Allen J. Anderson
Uppsala, Sweden

In the face of the U.S. government's insistance not to listen to reason in Vietnam, several of the world's most eminent men have declared to judge the US officially. On November 13th, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, began what was deemed to be one of the most individually significant, yet tragic events of our time: the first session of the International War Crimes Tribunal was called to order. Lord Russell gave an opening address stating his reasons for initiating *the Tribunal.*

Gentlemen. Allow me to express my appreciation to you for your willingness to participate in this work...The Tribunal has no clear historical precedent. The Nuremburg Tribunal, although concerned with designated war crimes, was possible because the victorious allied powers compelled the vanquished to present their leaders for trial ...Our own task is more difficult, but the same responsibility obtains."

He was addressing 9 of the 16 (1) members of the Tribunal which would lated be formed, and another 10 observers or representatives of members who could not attend. Never-theless the real work had begun that rainy afternoon in London, N.W

During the following three days, those elderly men, six of whom had been imprisoned sometime during their lifetime, struggled in near silence amid the propaganda of the bourgeois press, the T.V. and radio. Seldom has a human lived among us this century, that in some small measure has not been influenced by the thought of Russell or Sartre. Yet again the frightened bourgeois threatened by their own ignorance of truth, raced to plug the gap between Reason and Stupidity, threatened further by their own fear of conscience they raced to plug their ears and turn their eyes from the event (2). And as the *New York Times* put it: "It is the rankest hypocracy to pretend that a 'tribunal' chosen by such men could deliver an 'impartial judgement'." (3).

If not, then who perhaps? A General, Time magazine's man of the year perhaps? Could Gen. Westmoreland "deliver an impartial judgement" on U.S. war crimes? Well, if not, then who? The editor of the *New York Times* perhaps. For on October 14th, 1965, he might remember printing, "When the Vietcong prisoners were tortured, the American Army started to destroy the Vietcong hospitals and to cut off the medical supply." Or a month ago when James Reston quoted President Johnson in Cam Ranh saying, "Come home with the Coon skin on the wall." "Coon skin" is the term for Vietnamese. It is also the term by some for Negroes in America. Interesting? Interestingly and paradoxically enough, the *New York Times* itself, which Bertrand Russell has called "the most esteemed paper in the Western world," gave most of the impetus to convene a tribunal by its own reporting of the Vietnamese war in the first place. One of the sure signs of a bourgeois is that he doesn't profit from his freedom, and freedom of the press is included. (Freedom from the press) It is also rapidly appearing that he doesn't profit from his knowledge either. Anyway some men do profit from their knowledge. Hence Great men. Hence tribunals composed of such men.

By Tuesday morning, November the 15th, the Tribunal had been officially formed, and legally constituted. With "no clear precedent," yet with a precedent clear with historic implications, began what was sure to be one of those special events of our time. Then came the press conference. By 11 o'clock Wednesday morning, in a small room on the southwest side of London, most of the 200 or so had assembled to hear the good news. Seven T.V. news cameras, French, Japanese, and Middle Eastern news men were in the crowd. Russell began. (4).

"Ladies and Gentlemen," his voice hesitant, but strong, "I very much welcome the substancial progress which has been made during the first session of the International War Crimes Tribunal...Early in 1963 (5), I was profoundly disturbed by the mounting evidence in the Western press of the atrocious acts taking place in Vietnam."

(And later.) "As I reflect on this work, I cannot help thinking of the events of my life, because of the crimes I have seen and the hopes I have nurtured. I have lived through the Dreyfus case and been party to the investigation of the crimes committed by King Leopold in the Congo. I can recall many wars. Much injustice has been recorded quietly during these decades. In my own experience I cannot discover a situation quite comparable...I do not know any conflict in which the disparity in physical power has been so vast."

(And finally.) "I have rejected the view that only indifferent men are impartial men. The concept of individual intelligence which confuses empty minds with open ones, is degenerate and must be repudiated."

A wonderfully sincere speech which could only be given by few men today. Yet how was this event presented in the press? I quote from the same *New York Times* editorial that I referred to earlier (the only reference made to the conference), "At the London press conference about the trial, the 94 year old philosopher was led on to read a prepared statement, accusing the U.S. of unprecedented War Crimes, then was led away without taking questions...Some will say it makes no difference whether the aged philosopher has become a mere stooge of a bitter propagandist, but it adds a poignant touch to this episode that the answer can never be known." If the *New York Times* was to ask that question to Russell himself, they would likely get back just as sharp an answer, perhaps not so stupidly put. Secondly, notice how devoid of content these sentences are compared to Russell's. Speaking of "mere stooges," one begins to wonder about the editor of the *New York Times.*

After an hour and a half of questioning, the end of the first session had come. It was declared that in March the open sessions of hearings and evidence would begin. Paris was the chosen site. All the news in the press about France not allowing the Tribunal was

(Continued on page 3)

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STUDENT POWER

By Steven B. Accardy, Neil Buckley, James Grant Jr., Frederick Schmitt, and Dennis Williams - Penn. State SDS

PREFACE

The Pennsylvania State University, a reactionary business-oriented student factory, is located in central Pennsylvania in the lily-white town of State College. Penn State operates on the quarter term system of four ten-week terms per year.

For the first time in history, there seems to be a possibility for the emergence of a genuine, effective student movement at Penn State along radical lines. Previous attempts at student organizing have met with a variety of difficulties.

* * *

In spring 1965, Carl Davidson (then a Penn State graduate student) and several others tried to develop a student movement via the Ad Hoc Committee for Student Freedom. Their main rallying point was the broad issue of *in loco parentis.* Despite a considerable amount of activity, the movement did not receive the widespread support it deserved. The great majority of the students could not comprehend the role that *in loco parentis* played in the administration of their private lives by the University.

Most Penn State students, then as now, have not shed parental control. They are not ready to leave "mama" and thus happily accept the University *in loco parentis.* On October 26, 1966, *The Daily Collegian,* the campus newspaper, reported that "University Psychiatrist Dr. Albert M. Ingram Jr. believes the isolation and rural nature of the University create an environment more favorable to emotional stability (read: obedience, complacency, conformity). Dr. Ingram suggests 'we don't get the same kind of sophistication here that they do at Columbia or New York University.'"

Beginning in fall 1965, the concern of many people in the Ad Hoc Committee was focused on the so-called apartment visitation issue, questioning whether the University had the right to regulate when and under what circumstances coeds might visit men's downtown apartments. The selective enforcement of such regulations restricting free movement and invading privacy had in the past proved an effective weapon against radical students.

This issue proved sufficiently attractive (and understandable) to finally gain mass support by the beginning of spring 1966. During this entire academic year Carl Davidson was away in Nebraska and Penn State SDS was just getting organized and trying to get its University charter. Thus SDS was unable to cooperate publicly in this move-

(Continued on page 2)

CLEVELAND CONFERENCE

by Paul Booth

I attended a conference in Cleveland in late November at which the results of the November 5-8 Mobilization were analyzed. To put it most concisely, the group decided to work for a very large April 15th Mobilization in New York and San Francisco against the war. This was after considerable argument about the mobilization-organization dilemma.

I will not attempt to summarize the argument, or the political makeup of the group, or the characteristics of the planned March. SDS will be invited to join in this action, and I presume will give it full consideration. I urge this although I like the other half dozen SDS members at the meeting, voted against the plan, it is clearly our responsibility as opponents of the war to take seriously a proposal coming from this group, including as it does many adult peace elements, the independent committees to end the war, and the LIBERATION group of pacifists.

Other meetings are and will be offering other national plans. A meeting called by Bettina Aptheker and others will discuss a Student Strike. SDS will have its own N.C. There are proposals for national action aimed at the considerations of renewing the draft law which expires in June.

I would like to propose a procedure for the N.C. to follow in this regard. It is based on the notion that SDS should participate in the national decisions of the anti-war movement and should try to make its political approach as widely adopted as possible. There is a receptiveness to our insistence on a multi-issue orientation, our ideas about permanent organizing, our interest in the draft, etc.

We have lost the initiative in national affairs, but the slack is being taken up by other groups and individuals. It is not particularly our responsibility to give everyone else correct leadership; in fact if we continue to do that we will be regarded as sectarian, of all things.

Concretely, I urge that the N.C. delegate a half-dozen or so representatives to meet

(continued on page 3)

NOTICE

Registration fee for the December Conference will be $5 -- NOT $15.

Any money left after the conference will go to travel subsidies.

STUDENT POWER

ment as an organization, although many individuals who later joined the local chapter were active in the Ad Hoc Committee.

Last year's movement climaxed with two demonstrations on the steps of the administration building. One included a thousand-man walk-in and token sit-in – (until then, the most radical thing that had ever happened at Penn State). The rallies were not up to FSM standards; they failed to deepen student understanding and widen student consciousness. The demonstration leadership was controlled by student government political castrates, so liberal rhetoric supporting a moderate reformist approach prevailed.

A major failing of the movement was its limited goal. The essence of *in loco parentis* was lost in concentrating on the pseudo-issue of apartment visitation (the prohibiting regulation never really being enforced), and the movement led nowhere.

The administration successfully postponed action until the summer, when most students were not on campus, and then passed a watered-down liberalization of the existing rules without consulting the students. A by-product of the student agitation was the "voluntary" retirement over the summer of the principle administration official involved in the controversy, the Vice President for Student Affairs.

The summer of 1966 saw the evaporation of most of the momentum developed during the previous year, so the movement had to be reborn in the fall.

This fall, 1966, SDS had over 60 people at its first meeting. They came back week after week with the spirit if not the substance of radicalism. Experience had taught us that a single-issue campaign could not illuminate the basic corruption of the University.

A program for the development of political and social awareness of students was needed. SDS had to demonstrate the need for fundamental change in the power structure of the University. To this end SDS has begun publishing a series of white papers documenting and clarifying SDS positions and has developed a grass-roots REP (*Radical Education Program*) throughout the vast University residence hall complex. A wide spectrum of issues is being dealt with involving the civil liberties and academic freedom of students, the prostitution of education by the corrupt business-oriented values which pervade the atmosphere, and the implementation of change.

Following an SDS call for a boycott of the fall Undergraduate Student Government (USG) elections about ninty per cent of the students stayed away from the polls. Student participation has traditionally been small, but the less than ten per cent turnout marked a new low. An SDS white paper was issued documenting events and statements by administrators and USG "student leaders" during the apartment visitation issue campaign and analysing past actions and the current situation.

A delegation of thirty-seven SDS members visited the first USG meeting on October 27. At this meeting, six SDS demands were read to the USG Congressmen. The demands included: (1) the two rule books governing student conduct (one written by the Faculty Senate and the other by the Administration) be immediately declared null and void, (2) the Office of Student Affairs be no longer recognized and the authority usurped by that office assumed by the students, (3) the establishment of a student book store, and (4) elimination of rules prohibiting organizational fund raising on campus for more than three days per term.

The USG Congress, obviously outnumbered by SDS members and under duress, voted the demands onto their agenda. There followed a lengthy discussion on the need for radical change at Penn State. The USG president ended the meeting by creating a Joint USG-SDS Committee. He charged the committee to produce legislation for the next Congress meeting two weeks away.

SDS attended the first Joint Committee meeting armed with a list of 14 proposals designed to radically change the ruling structure of the University. These proposals called for the formation of three governing bodies: a Faculty Senate, a Student-Faculty Senate, and a Student Senate. The composition and jurisdiction of the three Senates were clearly defined and restricted so that outside the classroom the students were answerable only to civil law. Five of the proposals were specifically aimed at eliminating the University's extralegal authority over students resident in University-owned housing. The first meeting of the Joint Committee was entirely devoted to explaining to the befuddled USG members why a change was necessary – no mean task.

At the second meeting five of the proposals were passed unanimously, except for one on which there was a single dissenting vote. Because of the apparent progress being made, this second meeting proved very dangerous to USG because they were being pushed by a radical group to pass legislation which in their eyes was doomed to veto by the administration.

The possible dangers were neatly avoided, however, at the third meeting when the USG "top brass" declared that the committee's function had been fulfilled. They claimed that the committee had been set up simply to provide an ear for the views of SDS. Although the committee was not dissolved, its confidence had been shattered and its effectiveness destroyed.

A delegation of forty SDS members visited the second USG Congress meeting, publicly denounced USG for its breach of faith, accused them of working in cooperation with the administration against SDS and the students, denied charges of working outside the system, likened them unto a Mickey Mouse Club, and then walked out.

USG has itself shown that student government at Penn State is useless as a vehicle for radical change. SDS intends therefore to work directly with the students and the University Senate. (The old Faculty Senate was created in its stead in an effort to be more representative and democratic. The new Senate consists of faculty and administration as before, but with the former now predominating. It is possible that a few students may be selected to sit on one or two of the new Senate committees and that certain suitably screened students may on occassion be allowed to address the Senate from the floor.)

OTHER ACTIVITIES

1) REP

A series of "dorm forums" have been held and will continue as part of the external REP. Two or more SDS spokesmen visit residence halls and speak to groups of about twenty or thirty students. This represents from ten to forty per cent of the residents of the individual dorm. The total student population at the Penn State University Park campus is about twenty-two thousand – of which twelve thousand live in University residence halls. Our internal REP consists of weekly talks and discussions on subjects pertinent to SDS activities.

2) Community Organizing

Penn State SDS has also begun a tutoring and community organizing project in the Negro ghetto of Altoona (one of the fascist strongholds in central Pa.). Several students became involved in the Altoona ghetto last spring, 1966. Students from Penn State (most of them SDS workers but some not) tutor (on an individual basis) high school students and adults in the Negro ghetto and certain "poor white" sections of Altoona. The tutoring project is the first step towards the organization of the entire community. Application has been made to the O.E.O. in Washington, D.C. for financial assistance on the "Remedial Education Project" in Altoona.

In Altoona, as well as in Centre County (State College), SDS workers are investigating local conditions and seeking to organize welfare recipients. High school students are being contacted, and through them parents who do or should receive welfare assistance. The interests and needs of the low-income families are being researched in this manner.

3) Labor

As a result of inquiries from SDS people the Teamsters have finally begun to organize the working people on the campus. This includes janitors, maids, groundsmen, power plant workers, food service employees, etc. At the present time the Teamsters are in the midst of organizing. Projected plans call for organizing teaching and graduate research assistants as well as other student employees of the University.

4) Religious Missions

Several Jewish SDS members have set up a group called the Hillel Liberation Front operating within the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation at Penn State. The HLF has leafleted Sabbath services questioning the role of Judaism in the Vietnamese war.

SDS has mimeographed an editorial from Ramparts magazine of October 1966 entitled "Hitler's Bishops". Catholic Mass has been attended by SDS members and successful leafleting was completed on two occasions. The administration and local Catholic hierarchy became enraged over the first leafleting because the material was placed in the pews before Mass. The administration has subsequently said that no leaflets may be placed in the pews, which are reserved for religious materials only. Nevertheless, the Dean of Men did not attempt to prohibit SDS leafleting completely. Further action along these lines is planned. An attempt is being made to interest students in the University's Presbyterian community in the Altoona Project. A member of SDS has been attending Presbyterian services to establish communication.

5) Anti-War Activities

On November 25, Sir Robert Gordon Menzies, former Prime Minister of Australia, appeared at Penn State as a speaker in the Penn State Artist and Lecture Series. He was introduced to the audience by Penn State President Eric A. Walker. About 800 people heard Menzies give total support to the American presence in Vietnam. His talk did not meet the high standards of Vietnam war propaganda we are accustomed to in this country.

Outside the auditorium before the talk began SDS members handed out about three hundred copies of Eric Norden's "American Atrocities in Vietnam." Several students were approached by the numerous security police and plain-clothes men who demanded their identification cards. Despite this harrassment, virtually everyone accepted the leaflet, perhaps thinking it an official program, and spent the half hour before the talk reading it.

Inside, soon after Sir Robert began speaking, several SDS members unfurled a banner from the balcony reading, "Menzies: Accomplice to Murder–Withdraw American and Australian Troops." On a hand signal from President Walker on stage, the campus Director of Security moved from his front row seat up to the balcony to confront the demonstrators. There followed 45 minutes of threats, accusations, and intense intimidation in an effort to get the protestors to fold up the banner. Nevertheless, the banner remained up until the end of the talk when the audience, turning to leave, all saw and read it.

By the end of the speech the balcony had been infiltrated by a corps of security police, plain-clothes men, uniformed campus police, and University administrators. The balcony exits were blocked by the police, while officials went about demanding names and identification cards and asking students to report to the Dean of Men the following morning. One demonstrator, a member of the faculty who avoided the officials in the balcony and was about to leave the auditorium, was rushed by the campus Director of Security who pinned his shoulders against the wall and proceeded to question him. A professor of political science who witnessed this incident and several other faculty members who asked about what had happened expressed shock and dismay at the police-state methods that had been used to suppress political dissent.

Several letters from faculty members appeared in the Daily Collegian protesting the tactics of the campus security police, and the local chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union expressed great concern in a letter to University President Walker. On Wednesday, November 30, the Daily Collegian reported "the University will not take disciplinary action." Dean of Men Frank J. Simes said the University was "concerned about the disrespectful and inappropriate behavior of the students in displaying the sign." Simes said he felt it was not a matter of ideology but of courtesy. He said it was never the intention of the University to lodge formal disciplinary charges against the students involved," the Collegian reported.

In an obvious attempt at informal discipline and further intimidation, the Dean of Men called several of the demonstrators into his office to discuss the incident. They were told that displaying banners for or against speakers inside the hall will not be permitted in the future. The Dean also indicated that those students who failed to see him might have difficulty registering for the winter term.

6) Convention

As mentioned in another announcement sent to NLN, Penn State SDS will hold a state-wide convention during the winter term. It is expected that this will occur in coordination with a Conference on Black Power sponsored by the Student Union for Racial Equality (SURE) to be held the week of January 15, 1967. It is hoped that this meeting will facilitate state-wide coordination of activities.

CONCLUSION

One unfortunate result of the concentration on student freedom as a campus organizing issue has been the neglect of anti-war activity. Once the students are organized, connections will be pointed out between campus issues and Vietnam. Students have been conditioned to think too negatively about anti-war activity for it to be used as an organizing issue. It simply turns many people off. Although the percentage of incoming students from the metropolitan areas of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh is gradually increasing, Pennsylvania primitives from the back woods and small towns still predominate, and this is the context in which we must operate. But we view the relatively hostile atmosphere as a condition making student organizing an even greater challenge at Penn State.

* *

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c/o the National Office
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NEW LEFT NOTES

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Volume 1, No. 48 let the people decide December 16, 1966

America and the New Era

continued from last week **part II**

THE RESPONSE TO THE NEW FRONTIER:

The Kennedy Administration, with its campaign retoric of "getting the country moving again," and its style of a "New Frontier", explicitly recognizes the need for an Establishment capable of responding actively to the crisises of the new era. The Administration has reasserted an active and managerial role for government, after the Eisenhower years of government subservience to narrow military-industrial interests. The emergence of an activist political elite is a reflection of the inability of a major social economic and military institutions to agree on the means of pursuing the American mission. For example businessmen generally have taken little interest in the inequalities and deprivation which have brought on the crisis in the economy, while leaders of organized labor are acutely aware that their position is being weakened by the interacting pressure of business, conservative politicians and automation. Deep conflicts exist within the armed forces over issues of strategy and emphasis. These and other conflicts within American centers of leadership have created a need for an active, technically skilled, government elite -- a need which is strongly reinforced by the rapid tempo of international events which demand quick administrative action. Thus the first characteristic of the New Frontier is that it is the central agency for strategy and decision making for the American Establishment. Because its principal function is a mediating, rationalizing, and managerial one. The Kennedy Administration views its problems as technical and administrative, rather than in ideological or moral terms. For example, the President has repeatedly emphasized that the anti-business image of the Democratic Party is a myth based on irrelevant ideologies of the past, and that our economic problems are entirely technical. Basic social issues are thus reduced to problems requiring administrative manipulation; they are never seen as a reflection of the clash of opposing interests.

This distinctive style of the New Frontier is manifested in the major policies of the Administration. Everywhere policies are pursued that are aimed at adjusting to the revolutions of the new era in order that old order of private corporate enterprise shall be preserved and rationalized.

The New Frontier Abroad. From the committment to a corporate America, follows a foreign policy aimed at creating and preserving general economic compatibilities and political influence in a world no longer subject to blunt American direction:

1. The New Frontier, while regarding the Soviet Union as its chief short-run problem, now believes that political stabilization with the Russians is a distinct possibility on such matters as preventing thermonuclear war, controlling the arms race, and influencing the direction of social revolution in underdeveloped areas. Thus, the Cold War obsession with Soviet power has been reduced, because of the need for greater attention to developments in Western Europe and the Third World. These are so pressing that the Administration will strive for a tacit but definite detente with the USSR, if the detente can be achieved without critical alterations in the world balance of power.

2. The New Frontier increasingly regards China as the primary state threatening American interests. Thus military and political efforts are now being directed at "containing" the Chinese revolution. On the other hand, the Administration seeks to avoid irrational occurrences such as a Chiang Kai-Shek invasion of the mainland, although without, as yet, giving up traditional committments to Chiang.

3. The anti-colonial revolution is accepted as legitimate, as is the policy of non-alignment. The Administration is anxious to support social justice through mixed economics and parliamentary institutions. On the other hand, every available means is used to redirect or coerce regimes and movements which are anti-western, pro-communist or perceived to be threatening Western interests. These means extend from anti-guerilla military action, financing of opposition groups, heavy military aid to threatened regimes, to various diplomatic or economic assistance programs designed to persuade rather than coerce.

4. A deep desire to avoid general nuclear war is fundamental to the Administration's "rational military policies". One way to avoid holocaust, it is thought, is to have a wide range of "options" to deal more effectively with military situations. Then since nuclear weapons do not deter revolution, special counter-insurgency forces are developed (presently being tested in Vietnam). An increase in conventional forces in Europe to forestall the use of nuclear weapons should war occur there; while at the same time, strategic nuclear superiority to the Russians is maintained in the contingency that, should nuclear war occur, the West might, in the end, "prevail". In addition, a variety of unilateral and multilateral arms control measures are sought, designed to further rationalize the military system and avoid unwanted consequences.

Finally, the Administration recognizes that some forms of agreement with the Soviet Union are necessary if neclear war is to be prevented. Thus, it has accepted a test ban, and some measures to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and other first-step efforts at curtailing the arms race. What is not on the agenda is general disarmament -- a state of affairs which, it is thought, would reduce the United States to impotence in the fact of revolution, ideological and economic competition.

5. The Grand Design of the New Frontier involves at its bases an interdependent European-American community which would serve as the bastion of Western power and a renovating mechanism for the sluggish United States economy. America, in the Grand Design, is to determine Western political-military strategy, while economic ties with Europe would both stimulate and prevent excessive competition with the stagnating United States economy.

The New Frontier at Home. Internally, the New Frontier is moving toward the image of the "corporate state", following such countries as France and West Germany, in which government and business recognize that national planning by central bodies and strong programs of social welfare are necessary if social conflict which threatens the corporation economy flows from this conception:

1. The economic overflow of the Kennedy Administration is a mix of Keynesian advocacy of government intervention (including military spending as a major pump-primer) with faith in the essential genius of the American corporate system. Present economic problems are seen as "frictional" or temporary cyclical troubles. It is clear that as the troubles of our economy become more acute and more visible, the administration would lean toward "corporatist-bureaucratic" solutions rather than attempt to construct institutions of democratic planning.

2. The New Frontier is engaged in systematic and unprecendented intervention in labor-management disputes, as a representative of the "national interest", to attempt to set guidelines for settlement of labor problems. The thrust of this policy has been in the direction of tax and other incentives and concessions to business and strongly against the use of the strike by the labor movement.

3. The administration interprets the rise of unemployment as a "cost of increased productivity" and apparently feels that only conventional programs are needed to solve the problems. Thus the Administration claims that tax cuts, depreciation write-offs and other other investment stimuli, plus minor welfare measures will do the trick. In actuality, the New Frontier is interested in maintenance of unemployment at *politically* acceptable levels. Consequently, unemployment rates (officially) of six percent or higher will be tolerated, so long as such unemployment does not become a political liability.

4. The Administration has no program for the alleviation of poverty. The medicare program, skimpy compared to Truman's National Health Insurance bill, represents the only major Administration committment to help America's dispossessed. There have been no proposals which would begin the redistribution of income, no massive public works program; instead only business oriented plans and ameliorative social work in the form of the Domestic Service Corps are offered.

5. While being attacked by some business interests as "unfavorable" to business, the general trend of the New Frontier is toward the strengthening of large corporation power (while continuing to extol the free market system), and the courting of the business elite. Here are some examples of such Administration action:

The challenge to the steel industry involved not only a freeze in prices but a freeze on wages as well; since then the steel companies have been permitted to raise their prices.

The Telstar giveaway -- The Administration, over-riding liberal opposition, gave control of the international communications satellite to private corporate interests.

The series of Administration concessions on tariffs, tax reform, depreciation allowances, anti-trust action, and administrated pricing practices.

6. As the Administration came to power, civil rights was regarded as a problem requiring a gradual yet necessary solution. The primary means of diminishing the problem was thought to be the process of voter registration in the South -- which the Kennedys supported financially and legally, as well as conceptually. This, it was thought, would keep the movement off the streets, and build up Negro voting blocs for the Democratic Party. The accelerating pace of the movement, however, belied these early Administration expectations. Recognizing now that officially condoned racism is a major barrier to US effectiveness internationally, and that legal segregation is a major spur to Negro mass action, the Administration now views the civil rights situation as a major and profound crisis, demanding more committment than initially hoped. But the basic goals and typical style of the New Frontier continued to be manifest. Although recognizing that segregation is a moral evil, to try to manage the civil rights movement into established institutions in the expectation that conflict will be contained and minimiaed. Meanwhile, Administration officials attempt to "work with" the civil rights movement -- as a last ditch effort to stave off a situation in which all palliatives and liberal strategies would be rejected by angry and militant Negroes.

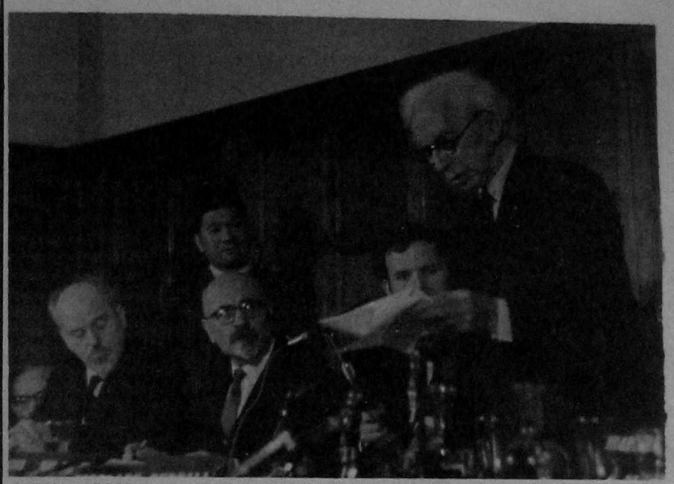
7. It is crucial that the rationalizing, managerial and adjustive politics of the New Frontier does not have unanimous support within the Establishment, and that the Administration is vehemently opposed by the traditionalists of the Right. In almost each instance the Administration is in a degree of conflict with groups who have a stake in the lingering ideas of the Fifties and before. In the area of military policy, there still remain powerful voices in support of an unlimited arms race and forceful containment of the Soviets at any cost. In economic policy, there are those who continued to insist that the Administration has not gone far enough in the interest of private enterprise. In civil rights, key figures in both parties oppose any government action to deal with the problem. The Administration has decided, in essence, that such outlooks are irrational and against the long-range interests of established power. To develop durable support for their own power and vision, the New Frontiersman are seeking several important changes in the national structure of power:

They seek to greatly expand the power of the Executive in critical areas. This includes greater control of the military by a "civilian" elite of skilled intellectuals, politicians and managers. The goal is to make the planning of war a scientific specialty of Pentagon intelligentsia -- immune from Congress or any other public institutions which might interfere with rational military planning. The Administration also seeks the power to act, independent of Congress, in the following areas: setting of tax rates, regulation of public works and welfare programs, absorption of certain Federal Reserve Board powers with respect to fiscal policy, and tariff cutting powers.

The Kennedys seek to remake the Democratic Party in their own image. They seek to replace worn-out political machines in big cities, to control, redirect or suppress reform movements in key states, and to undermine the power of recalcitrant Dixiecrat congressmen -- all with the intention of creating a party permanently loyal to the New Frontier political style.

(continued on page 4)

War Crimes Tribunal



RUSSELL ADDRESSING PRESS CONFERENCE. (From left to right) Lelio Basso (It.); standing: Prof. Setsure Tsurushima; Isaac Deutscher (G.B.); Ralph Schoenman (U.S.A.); Bertrand Russell.

(continued from page 1)

sheer nonsense -- politically opportune rumor. The men could get on their planes and go home. The work had begun.

* *

Footnotes:

1.) In attendance: Bertrand Russell, Jean-Paul Sartre, Gunther Anders (Austria), Mehmet Ali Aybar (Turkey), Lelio Basso (Italy), Simone de Beauvoir, Vladimir Dedijer, chairman, (Yugoslavia), Isaac Deutscher, Mahmud Ali Kasuri (Pakistan), Kinji Morakawa (Japan). Others are Lazaro Cardenas (Mexico), Stokeley Carmichael, Dave Dellinger, Amado Hermandez, who arrived late Tuesday (Philipines), Shoichi Sakata (Japan), and Laurent Schwartz (France).

2.) I am assuming the coverage in the U.S. was as bad as in Britain and Sweden.

3.) Int. Ed., 22 Nov. 1966, editorial.

4.) A tape recording of the press conference is available from me, and hopefully will be broadcast by KPFA, KPFK, and WBAI (Pacifica radio).

5.) Note the date. In Feb., 1963, I was at Stanford University, where the Peace Caucus asked Russell to give his account of the Vietnamese War. He replied by sending us a tape which we played to the students during lunch time.

America and the New Era

A number of trends, actively aided by the Administration, point to a remaking of Congress. Through pressure, and the financing of opposition by the Administration, plus the efforts of the civil rights movement, the power of the Dixiecrat control of Congressional power is aided by the age of many of the senior members of the conservative coalition. It seems likely that the next few years will see a gradual transfer of power from the quarter-century old Dixiecrat-Republican oligarchy to a new group of men who are closer to the views of the White House.

This, then, is the essential shape of the Establishment as it strives to respond to the new era -- it intends to be rational, active and adaptive, but its policies and style flow from its necessary committment to the preservation of the going system.

For those who are, instead, committed to democracy and human dignity, two things need to be strongly emphasized.

First: In a world where countless forces work to create feelings of powerlessness in ordinary men, an attempt by political leaders to manipulate and control conflict destroys the conditions of a democratic policy and robs men of their initiative autonomy. The New Frontier is engineering a society where debate is diminishing and the opportunities to express opposition and create ferment are declining. When consensus is manipulated, when reforms emanate from the top while active movements for change are described, then the process of democratic participation has been defeated. In the short run, efforts to dampen social conflict and prevent popular upsurge limit drastically the possibilities for real reform and innovation in the society. In the long run, the encroachment of the engineered consensus will permanently frustrate the long human struggle to establish a genuinely democratic community.

Second: The policies of this Administration can be characterized as "aggressive tokenism." And tokenism, no matter how forth-rightly it is proposed, is in its essence no more than measured adjustments by a faltering social system to radical demands from all sides. It is clear that, in the present situation, the New Frontier cannot solve the three most pressing needs of our time: disarmament, abundance with social justice, and complete racial equality.

Alternatives to the New Frontier

A peace-making foreign policy in which disarmement is the central goal is the first need. The program of the Administration is a dangerous attempt to make the world safe for limited and irregular warfare conducted under the stalemate of nuclear deterrence. Certainly all sane men will support the Administration's apparently determined effort to achieve detente with the Soviets. But they must face the fact that the resulting world is likely to be one of continued brutality and bloodshed. For the Administration has not yet abandoned its resolve to meet revolution with force of necessary, and this means the sure devastation of country after country in the Third World, as Vietnam, for instance, is now being destroyed. It means a continuing danger of escalation to full scale war. This turn of events is not caused simply by communist aggression, but by the basic inability of the US government to offer political and economic alternatives to people in revolutionary upsurge -- alternatives which can meet their needs for radical economic development under planning. The present "modernization" program of the New Frontier, which results either fully fraudulent or seriously inadequate redistribution of land and power and which has not even been applied seriously in many parts of the world, cannot meet the need.

The tokenism of the Administration with respect to unemployment, automation, poverty, and social stagnation is clear. No program has been offered which can begin to cope with these problems. The New Frontier has failed to experiment in government programming to meet the radical changes in the condition of production of production and consumption in America. Corporate power and its "ethic" have therefore grown, while the counter-vailing and creative possibilities of independent public intervention and development have been completely ignored. It is clear that old institutions add assumptions are not adequate to the technological revolution, and that central control, planning and integration of the economy will have to occur. Insofar as the Administration has moved in this area, it has been the direction of supporting elitist, private industry-wide "planning" with the government ratifying these plans as part of the corporate "team". There is a different road -- toward bold new advances in democratic and responsible planning which makes production available to all the world and equally to all Americans. It is this road which the New Frontier seeks to close off.

Tokenism cannot bring racial equality to a society which is racially segregated, nor can can it meet the increasing demands of the Negro freedom movement. Many Kennedy policies in civil rights need support if they are to be implemented, but it should be recognized that the essential demands for job equality, housing, and school integration and voting rights are hardly coped with by the Administration's program. It is also crucial to note that present policies make no provision for meeting, even minimally, the Negro demand for jobs and relief from economic distress.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

The most direct, visible and powerful challenge to the status quo and established power in America now comes from the upsurge of Negroes. The general setting of this upsurge is the frustration of economic opportunity for both middle and working class Negroes -- for the former, the professional opportunities which exist are few low paying; for the latter unemployment has reached unprecedented proportions. A further enabling condition of the Negro movement has been the migration of Negroes into cities North and South, either to escape the terror and isolation of rural living, or because of the relative availability of work in the cities as compared with the rapid decline in agricultural employment. Inspired by the colonial revolution, and frustrated by the hypocrisy and tokenism of established political leadership, a sense of initiative and an impulse to direct action became widespread in the late fifties, climaxing in the student sit-in movement.

The student movement in the South has become more radical and impatient through its experience. From a direct action attack on segregated lunch counters, the goals of the student movement have grown to include economic equality and a more direct assault on the white power structure of southern communities. Moreover, the Southern movement now involves increased participation by Negro masses, including lower-class, unemployed and unskilled workers. In the six weeks between the Birmingham events and this writing the intensity, scope and breadth of the movement have grown enormously. In these weeks, for example, 10,000 people have been arrested in the South for participation in demonstrations and the direct action movement has sprung up in at least 100 southern communities.

The inspiring and increasingly successful Southern revolution has converged with the increasing frustration and despair of Northern Negroes, to produce a vast upsurge of action in Northern cities. In the North, Negroes are confronted not with a system of legal segregation, but rather with a surface promise of equality which masks unemployment, squalid ghettos, "urban renewal", de facto school segregation, police brutality and a thousand other indignities. These conditions belie the liberal sentiments expressed by Northern politicians, and the outcome of a long history of patience, trust and hope has been a steady worsening of the lot of the Northern Negro.

Negroes have broken through the crust of apathy -- and it is apparent that, unlike their white fellow Americans, Negroes are deeply aware of the meaning of the new era. The Negro movement is undergoing leadership tensions and changes in the content of its program; there is a major debate about the depth of change in America necessary for the establishment of human equality. It is impossible to predict a "direction" for the movement at the present time. But it is clear that thousands are now in radical motion, that the eruption is shaking the traditional seats of public and private power, that its dynamism continuously generates greater protest. Already the Negro revolt has intensified once-frozen conflicts between political reactionaries and the more liberal wings of both parties. And, more profoundly, the demand for the abolition of segregation and liquidation of economic and social inequality has fundamentally challenged the ability of the Establishment to meet the test the President himself has posed: "We shall be judged more by what we do at home than what we preach abroad."

The Negro revolt poses a challenge to other groups as well. Particularly it speaks to liberals, to reformers, to trade unionists, and radicals. The question it poses has been well-phrased by Walter Liopmann:

Is the rising discontent which is showing itself among the 20 million Negroes going to change in important ways the shape and pace of American politics? Big popular movements such as Populism in the last century, the Square Deal and the New Deal in this century, had an explosive nucleus of popular trouble and anger. Does the crystal ball say, then, that there will be a new movement of internal development and reform -- without which the substantial grievances of Negroes cannot be redressed?

THE DILEMNA OF LABOR AND LIBERAL FORCES

While the Negro population stirs itself, the traditional sources of power for movements for social justice find themselves on the defensive. The labor movement, and the institutions of liberalism have been caught in two eviscerating pincer movements: the automated economy -- the jobs it kills and the labor relations problems it raises -- strikes at the heart of labor's power in the heavy production industries. And the capture of liberal rhetoric and the liberal political base by the corporate liberalism of the New Frontiersmen means that the reformers and the democratically oriented liberals are trapped by the limitations of the Democratic Party, but afraid of irrelevancy outside it.

The effects of technological and industrial changes, so strikingly expressed in the shifting composition of the labor force, presents organized labor with one of its greatest immediate problems, and perhaps its greatest single threat over the course of the next twenty years. In the late fifties for the first time, white collar jobs exceeded in absolute numbers blue collar industrial jobs. The traditional base of labor's power and social influence -- the production line worker -- is vanishing. Labor, however, has failed to achieve the kind of organizing successes with white collar workers that it did with industrial workers. Combined with imminent as well as actual automation of these job categories, the per cent of unionized workers in the work force is decreasing.

The weapon of the strike itself, quite aside from labor's right to strike -- itself in jeopardy -- now affords many employers the opportunity to automate while workers are out on picket lines and before new contracts are signed.

While desperately attempting to hold on to jobs that exist, the unions cannot begin to stem the increasing flow of young people to the ranks of the unemployed. A whole generation of young adults, potentially new blood for unionism, are now a growing pool of alienated frustrated people, whose political direction could as easily be hostile as it could be friendly to the unions and their members.

The lack of jobs, and social misery, and the future threat of automation short-circuits the collective bargaining process and creates important tensions between labor and

(continued on page 5)

S.T.O.P.

Speech given to Organizational Meeting of University of Iowa S.T.O.P. (Students to Oppose Paternalism.

by Everett Frost,
Iowa City SDS

Let's not mince words. Neither let us misunderstand what we are about, nor misjudge our goals and so misdirect our enemies. For what we are involved in--what we have dedicated ourselves to tonight--if we are serious --is nothing less than the radical transformation of the nature of the University. We have specific grievances in need of redress, that is true enough (and we have listed a number of them tonight):

the *regulations* governing dormitory life...
the *regulations* governing student monies...
the *regulations* governing parking, putting up posters for student organizations on campus, the way in which we will use the student--excuse me--the Iowa Memorial Union...
the *money* that this regulatory system costs us...
the *money* it costs for changing a course...
the *money* it costs to park your car...

And above all, the almost total absence of legitimate student power to influence or have a "say" in what these regulations will be and the inscrutable manner in which they are decided upon.

The acquisition of more civilized parking regulations and fees, of more civilized dormitory and approved housing policies, of a living *STUDENT* Union rather than a defunct *MEMORIAL* Union--all these are important--but we should not be deterred from our real goal in the process of acquiring them. (And we *WILL* acquire them).

For our real goal is not talking the University into changing its mind. Our real goal is the creation of the kind of university in which we can make up our own minds. Our real goal is to have students and faculty participate in the governing of the University; not by *permission* of the administration but by the right we have -- or OUGHT to have -- to do so, through our elected representatives, as constituent members of the university community. Students and faculty ought not to have to form an off-campus pressure group to influence University policy. For we--students and faculty--are legitimate members of the University--perhaps, and this is an arguable point, its ONLY legitimate members. We need to build the mechanisms for influencing the decisions that govern our lives *into the system itself*--such that we govern by right of the governed and not by permission of the Governor.

Accomplishing that task--our real task, as I see it--involves, I am afraid, radical changes in the nature and purpose of a University as it exists in the United States.

To offer data so that we might begin to understand something of the University as it now exists, let me quote you a few passages from Clark Kerr's *The Uses of the University*. Clark Kerr, as many of you know, is the infamous president of that infamous University, the University of California. I pick on him only because he is both typical of an Administrative mentality and brighter and more coherent than most of his colleagues. He says: (the italics are mine)

"The American University is currently undergoing its second great transformation. The university is being called upon to educate previously unimagined numbers of students; *to respond to the expanding claims of national service; to merge its activities with industry as never before;* to adapt to and rechannel new intellectual currents. By the end of this period, there will be a truly American University, ... as a model for universities in other parts of the globe...

"So many of the hopes and fears of the American people are now related to our educational system and particularly to our universities--. . *(that) the university has become a prime instrument of national purpose.* This is new. This is the essence of the transformation now engulfing our universities."

Yes, this is new--and Clark Kerr and men like him, LIKE IT. I for one, DON'T like it. But Kerr is valuable as a source, precisely because he follows up the implications of his analysis. Quoting now from a section of his book bearing the ominous title of: *The Knowledge Industry*":

"Basic to this transformation is the growth of the "knowledge industry", which is coming to permeate government and business and to draw into it more and more people

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America and the New Era

management. The leadership of organized labor predominately favors continued allegiance to the President and the Democratic Party, but increasingly they have been politically weakened by the power of business and government and the unavoidalbe spectre of automation. Labor itself, however, is not unified: even though present leadership probably will remain more militant labor attack on conservative economic policies. In addition, rank and file criticism of both its leadership and economic conditions is growing. More than one-half of all contracts negotiated between national unions and management last year were rejected when submitted to local memberships.

In fact, even a cautious prediction of the course of industrial relations in the immediate future would focus on a picture of an embattled and defensive labor movement. Strike action is coming to be stimulated not by wage disputes as much as by automation disputes involving as they do, work rules and job gradings, and therefore job security for millions of men too old to learn new skills. Even apart from defense industries, labor will find itself continually stigmatized for action against or in ignorance of business-defined "public interest," as it fights increasing automation.

The political meaning of labor's dilemma emerges starkly: At a time when its base of support is declining, labor will find its fundamental right to strike threatened (as the railroad disputes clearly show) by Congressional demands for compulsory arbitration.

Although it is improbable that a Democratic administration would support compulsory arbitration legislation, (though the current railroad proposal is) it is nevertheless predictable that labor will find itself in a defensive, political fight for its independence. The combination of Cold War justification for avoiding strikes and public intolerance of labor's demands, will confront unions for the first time since 1948, with the necessity for all-out political action for its most basic organizational prerogative.

The Decay of Liberal Militancy. In power for a generation, Liberalism has adopted a neutral managerial role. Unable to dissociate itself from the errors or the immoralities of Democratic officeholders, the major liberal organizations – and even more so, their public spokesmen – have abandoned the populist and progressive strands of their tradition; strands which dictated a positive, change-oriented political role with militant rhetoric. In its actions Liberalism no longer identifies as the critical targets of protest, the social conditions which it attacked during the "New Deal revolution." During the fifties Liberal social critics talked of problems of leisure, mass society and abundance. But all the while poverty and racial oppression, and public squalor and selfish interests continue to exist, neglected and unsolved by liberal organization.

At present, the major liberal organizations devote their political energies to various kinds of lobbying operations, usually in support of policies emanating from the administration. Proposals are offered to the President or to Congress, with only rare efforts to organize popular support of them; blame for the failure of liberal programs is usually accorded to the Congress or occasionally to the Administration.

Organized liberalism, however, must take at least part of the credit for America's political stalemate. A style of politics which emphasizes cocktail parties and seminars rather than protest marches, local reform movements, and independent bases of power, cannot achieve leverage with respect to an establishment oriented administration and a fundamentally reactionary Congressional oligarchy.

The mobilization of popular support for new proposals, the fomenting of local and national debate, the organization of disenfranchised groups for the effective exercise of their political power – in short, the recapturing of the populist inheritance of liberalism – these are the first principles of democratic action, and they are the only conceivable ways by which liberal programs could be enacted. It would be an occasion for much celebration if established liberals were to engage in such action.

Within the liberal organizations, at and below the middle levels of leadership there are many who would support more militant action and forthright positions. The views of these people may become effective as two processes occur. First, the intensification of our domestic problems themselves call for more direct and far-reaching solutions than presently offered. But just as important, the populist impulse in labor and organizations of liberalism can be reinforced by the emergence of new popular movements, articulating their own programs in the face of the inadequate ones.

These changes would require a new spirit and new strategy for American democrats; they would require a new insurgency.

THE NEW INSURGENCY

In a growing number of localities a new discontent, a new anger is groping towards a politics of insurgent protest.

At present, the major resource for these efforts is a number of individuals who are thinking and acting in radical ways as a result of a variety of recent political events and experiences.

Chief among these are the activists in the civil rights movement. Discovering that mass protest is more effective than patient suffering, the Negro community finds that its efforts to achieve equality are bound in complex ways to more general economic problems of employment and economic growth. Behind local segregation there lies a far more pervasive pattern of national political, economic, and social oppression; slowly, the civil rights movement is learning that the demand for freedom is a demand for a new society.

Students in the great centers of higher learning have learned though still in incohate ways, that higher learning divorced from high purpose reflects a society in which initiative is seen as an administrative problem: and as the universities begin to approach the model of other institutions of the society – in their organization as well as their tasks – the problem of university reform takes on many of the same burdens as more general social reform.

Intellectuals, in and out of universities, have found that too often their skills are merely used, not cherished, their rewards are merely sops, not signs of esteem, their work is merely apology, not expression of an inner human reality.

Many liberals and radicals have discovered that the complacency, the cynicism, and the loss of political will which permeated the traditional liberal, reform, and radical movements and organizations are neither the price of victory nor the symptom of the end of ideology, but rather are the effects of bureaucratic perspectives and Cold War approaches to politics. Consequently it is becoming evident that the hope for real reform lies not in alliances with established power, but with the re-creation of a popular left opposition – an opposition that expresses anger when it is called for, not mild disagreement.

Some trade unionists have found that union reform depends on having an economic program which meets the demands of union membership. Thus, political pressures within unions impel many of them to positions far more forthright than was ordinarily in the Fifties.

Thus, there seems to be emerging a collection of people who thought in thought and action are increasingly being radicalized as they experience the events of the new era. Moreover, the radical consciousness of these individuals is certainly representative of wider currents of urgency and disaffection which exist in the communities from which they come. The militant resolve of Negroes, North and South, the urgency and dedication of middle class peace advocates, the deepening anxiety of industrial workers, and the spreading alienation of college students – this kind of motion and discontent in the population has given new stimulation to the development of radical thought, and is leading to a search for new forms of insurgent politics.

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S.T.O.P.

raised to higher and higher levels of *skill*. (Note his use of the word 'skill' there. Note, not higher and higher intellect, higher and higher awareness, or sophistication or intellectual integrity. No. Higher and higher SKILL).

"This production, distribution, and consumption of 'knowledge' in all its forms is said to account for 29% of gross national product...and 'knowledge production' is growing at about twice the rate of the rest of the economy...

"It is often through new academic specialties and through athletics that the universities seeking to rise in the academic hierarchy can most quickly and easily attract national attention–and also by hiring great and visible academic stars. The mark of a university 'on the make' is a mad scramble for football stars and professional luminaries. The former do little studying and the latter little teaching, and so they form a neat combination of muscle and intellect.

"the University and segments of industry are becoming more alike. As the university becomes tied into the world of work, the professor takes on some of the characteristics of the entrepeneur...The two worlds are merging physically and psychologically.

I urge all of you to get a copy of Kerr's book and read it in its entirety. It's a sophisticated analysis of where the University is going from a point of view a deal more powerful than our own.

Lord knows, I have been one of those most vociferously to argue that the University ought not to be an ivory tower and ought to be involved in a dialogue with the modern world. Mr. Kerr and I agree on that much. But we disagree on the nature of that involvement.

Mr. Kerr wants us to accept without question the present military-university-industrial-governmental complex and to carry our share. The result is that he must have a university which "fits in" to the larger picture. He must have a university in which knowledge is a commodity and students are consumers. He must have a university which reflects, protects, and abides by the values–no matter how banal, criminal, or inept–of the wider society such that the middle class that sends his consumers to him for training is not upset, and the state legislature and federal government dutifully come through with a budget and grants for "education" and research. The result is that students must be watched over and mothered–that the University must act *in loco parentis*–in the place of the parents. The result is that public relations and job placement assume a greater importance than academic excellence and the essential dialogue of teaching and learning. The result is that students are expected docilely to "fit in" to the system, behave themselves, follow all the niggling little and obscene big regulations to get the "work permit" that is the B.A. entitling them to better jobs and a Brighter Future in a Growing America. Whether they get educated, challenged, excited, or genuinely moved by anything is less important, than that they fit in. It is not that they do not think that we are not yet old enough.

As Paul Goodman has written, "The labor of intelligent youth is needed and they are subjected to tight scheduling, speed-up, and other factory methods...It is frivolous to tell them to go elsewhere if they don't like the rules, for they have no choice but to go to college, and one factory is like another... On the other hand, there are strong American influences to prevent student maturation and independence. First, the frantic career drive, spurred by the anxiety of middle-class parents, leading to conformism and willingness to submit to scheduled mis-education, credits and grading in order to get a diploma quick."

And above all, students must be kept POWERLESS. Students cannot be allowed the processes by which they might seriously disrupt the system and transform it such that it might serve *their* purposes rather than they its. And this powerlessness and protection we are expected to accept as a privilege! And we are expected to support it with their student non-governments.

Philip Rieff in an article titled "The Mirage of College Politics" takes up this point. He writes:

"Not long ago, I walked through the main gate of the University of California at Berkeley with a mathematical colleague who suddenly waved his hand and exclaimed, 'They have been given everything–what more do they want?' He was pointing to the University's glittering new Student Union building.

"But students are expected to pay a price for their privileges in the form of good behaviour. For misbehaviour implies an affront to those who are supporting them during their privileged and bracketed years of grace, before they go out into the world as it really is. To be idealistic and above all, to try to carry that idealism into demonstrative political action is to take unfair advantage of one's special situation as a student. It is to perversely reject the cozy isolation from the real adult world–'the best years in life'–which has been arranged by a great deal of adult effort and expense."

Thus, in order to maintain his status and his privileges, the student is supposed to keep out of trouble. His politics, like his other extra-curricular activities, must be conducted in approved ways. And the way most approved is a mock version of adult national party politics called 'student government'. This is encouraged not to give the students an opportunity to govern themselves, but as a way of rendering genuine political interest innocuous. Student government is most acceptable when it mimics – indeed, parodies – adult politics: the furious campus election campaigns, complete with posters, speeches, factions, jockeying for office. All the political issues are there except the real issues and the real relation between action and power which are the very substance of politics... Anything approaching serious and controversial politics runs the danger of being considered "off-campus" and not sterile enough for student participation."

Is S.T.O.P. (Students to Oppose Paternalism) a case in point? We have already been told by the activities office that we may not have student recognition as an on-campus activity, should we seek it!

Now you'd think that, with the system functioning in the manner outlined by Clark Kerr as nicely as he does, that everything would be fine, industry and the government happy

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CLEVELAND CONFERENCE

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with a similar body from the student strike outfit and from the April 15th Mobilization, with of course other interested parties invited to help. That our N.C. instruct our representatives in the key concerns we wish to be reflected in anti-war activity in the spring; perhaps a list of priorities should be created to allow our people to bargain. This would be a way of accepting the reality that there will be national activity of one sort of another and doing our best to put a good stamp on it. The national consultation should be able to come to final decisions about the spring timetable.

The only honest alternative to this that I can see is coming down hard and urging chapters not to get caught up in national hoohas. The middle alternative of drift and indecision seems to me the least desirable and the most onerous burden to place on the national office – it gives them no instruction.

The kinds of concerns that might be articulated might include:

1- speakers at the major assemblages representative of different insurgent constituencies.

2- explicit commitment to building permanent organization reflected in the calls and in the activities.

3- major emphasis on bringing unionists, poor people, rural groups, other people who are strangers to the middle-class peace movement.

4- a particular perspective and activity around the draft.

5- dates and places

etc. etc.

America and the New Era

The new insurgents are active generators of a wide variety of political activities in the neighborhoods and communities where they are located. Local insurgent actions include: mass direct action and voter registration campaigns among Negroes, political reform and voter registration campaigns among Negroes, political reform movements directed against entrenched Democratic machines, political action for peace, tutorials and other community based attempts to reach underprivileged youth, discussion groups, periodicals and research aimed at analysis and exposure of local political and economic conditions. Barely begun are efforts to initiate organized protest in depressed areas and urban slums, to organize non-union workers, to focus reform political clubs and candidacies on issues and program directly relevant to the urban poor, and to involve slum-dwellers directly in political efforts.

The outcome of these efforts at creating insurgent politics could be the organization of constituencies expressing, for the first time in this generation, the needs of ordinary men for a decent life. Many signs point to a vastly increased potential for this kind of popular upsurge -- and as Lippman suggests, the most crucial of these is the "exploding nucleus" of Negro protest. But the effort will be a long and difficult one. For one thing, the militancy of Summer, 1963, among Negroes is sure to ebb and flow -- as with all popular movements. Second, the new insurgents need to learn ways of gathering the physical and financial resources to support their activities. Finally, and most important, an adequate analysis of the American scene, and a political program consistent with it, have yet to be devised. Such analysis and such program are needed if there is to be relevant local and national political action which can effectively create the impetus for a democratic society and genuinely meet the needs of the new era.

Some Strategic Possibilities

As new popular upsurge in fact takes place in America's towns and cities, there are likely to be substantial effects on national politics. As new constituencies are brought into political motion, as new voices are heard in the arena, as new centers of power are generated, existing institutions will begin to feel the pressures of change, and a new dynamic in national social and political life could come into being.

1. A Reinivorated Labor Movement? Issues now pressing the Labor movement seem to converge with those of urban Negroes fighting for equality, and middle class groups working for disarmament. First, with the arms race losing its ability to generate new jobs, the unions are forced to seek economic expansion in the areas that will provide the jobs they need. Second, the inability of established power to satisfy labor's now-modest demands for social service -- like medicare and aid to education -- provides good reason for an increased tone and style of protest, and a heightened realization that the skewed priorities of the Cold War do not serve labor's needs. Third, job-destroying automation affects not only the employment chances of urban Negroes, but also the membership and power of organized labor.

It seems the case that, unless organized labor begins to take leadership in creating powerful demands for employment, for social service, for income redistribution, and for radical equality, the very institution of the labor union would become obsolete. It therefore seems likely that popular upsurge in many communities and the emergence of insurgent political movements would move labor to become an independent center of power and leadership.

A reinvigorated labor movement could be a major force in the creation of the democratic social order. The labor movement -- by connecting democracy and economic equality and security and by fighting for participation in the formulation of work rules -- has had a nascent notion of industrial democracy. A resurgent labor movement could present to workers a qualitively richer vision of what most men's lives would be like in a democratic society. And it could create opportunities for real human relations and democratic participation in the work places of our society. This, it would seem, is the new frontier for America's labor movement. It is possible that no labor insurgency -- even though occuring outside the labor movement -- could move the unions to approach this frontier.

An End to Middle Class Silence?

The great American middle classes (real and imagined) -- the manipulated ...ions -- there are not irrelevant to a strategy of change. Even now some of the middle classes -- especially university people and some other professionals -- are breaking out of the apathy and complacency of the Fifties. To a great extent the spectre of nuclear war and the effects of radioactive fallout from the weapons testing has been responsible for the shift; and much of the work of the women's peace organizations can provide fruitful guides for a strategy of political education for middle class and educated constituencies. These are good reasons for an even further radicalization of these groups. First, as the tax burden on Americans increases, it is the middle classes and the marginal lower-middle classes whose standard of living is most immediately threatened. The sight of the abuse of the corporate privilege of the expense account, depreciation allowances, generally, may bring many of these people to protest against an economy of selfish and vested interests. Moreover, it is in the present political economy that the salaried middle classes have lost most in terms of political and economic influence. Second, beyond the press of their own material problems a new populism, a democratic insurgency, could provide for many of these people a revived and inspiring vision of a humane social order -- a vision that might stire them out of privation.

In each of the constituencies which might become the basis of a new insurgency, as in the labor movement, the major priority is the restoration of debate and conflict about goals and methods. In each there are varieties of opinion which now appear to be part of the great consensus of moderation. For a new politics to be born a new wave of real political debate about real issues must come to the open. This is the truth in the often-sloganed call for political "dialoge": issues which are now under the rug must become the floor of a new movement. Such a debate would have transforming effects on the political parties and Congress

A New Congress?

The combined effects of demographic shift, reapportionment, increased Negro voting in the South, and certain political mansuvers by the Kennedy Administration can force changes in the Congressional Establishment - so that the liberal wings of both parties would control the decision-making apparatus of the Congress. This will undoubtedly facilitate the enactment of the New Frontier program. It is clear that this program is going to be inadequate to cope effectively structures. But the kind of local activity described above-especially if it were to eventuate in attempts to win Congressional seats and other forms of political representation would have major effects beyond those already contemplated:

First: intensified activity by Negroes in both North and South will hasten the demise of the Dixie-crats, and as a result of this activity already, the New Frontier is being forced to promulgate some of the civil rights legislation if rhetorically promised.

Second: effective political action by the peace movement directed at major party Congressional campaigns, could lead to the formation of a caucus of peace-oriented Congressmen, prepared to support disarmament initiarives and democratic foreign policy alternatives and to bring about debate in Congress on the defense budget and foreign policy.

Third: local political organization of the kind described could provide the base for Congressional candidates and Congressmen who, regardless of their party lable, could run on and stand for radical economic and social programs independent of the establishments of either major party.

Breaking the power of the conservative coalition, expelling racism from the seats of congressional power, forcing debate on Cold War policies, and bringing to Congress men who really represent those who are now disenfranchised -- these would be major first steps in the effort to create a democratic society.

A NEW AGENDA FOR AMERICA

Political organization is meaningless without political program -- definitive and concrete proposals based on serious analysises of existing conditions and addressing, coping with the troubles and problems of people.

The immediate need is for such social and political analysis and the formulation of such problems.

Historically it is important to stress the role that students and intellectuals have played in activating the new sources of social movement. The key roles of students in initiation and continuation of peace and civil rights activity need not be reiterated. (And in this respect it is important to note the reawakening interest by intellectuals in poverty, organized labor and traditional economic issues.) It has been the peculiar contribution of the intellectual community to these movements; centers of research and exposure, and loci for the expansion of local into national movements, of local issues into unified programs.

But during the post-war period the American academy turned inward. The "Silent Generation" was not simply a description of students and young intellectuals; it was the hallmark of a decade of introspection and defensiveness, as intellectuals were isolated in their "communities" and exposed to the pressures of post war affluence and the hegemony of Cold War ideology.

Despite the enthusiastic proclamations of public officials and college bureaucrats that the post-war era saw the consolidation of intellectual participation in the key institutions and centers of national life, it has been clear that *independent, critical* participation by intellectuals in the political process has been officially resisted and successfully undermined. The much-heralded service of intellectuals in business and government is simply an indication of the effectiveness of the American Establishment in integrating the University system into *more faithful service of the status quo* innovation in the social system providing the man-power and organizational facilities which lubricated the efficient operation of the military-industrial complex.

This structure of quiescence is beginning to break down. The development of civil rights movements and other centers of independent insurgency has for the first time since the war created centers of power outside the university, to which intellectuals could turn for creative as well as political involvement. The beginning of a breakdown in the American consensus provides the possibility for genuinely critical and independent participation of intellectuals and students in national life. The bureaucratic and ideological structures of American institutions of liberal education have been penetrated; and with this breakout of significant numbers of students and intellectuals has come a freshening, an independence, a sense of effects on the University system as well as on the emergent centers of power in the social order.

While stressing the participation of university intellectuals in the new issue centers, it should also be emphasized that these centers have provided the meeting place for other groups that were isolated from one another by the experience of the Fifties. In particular, artists and writers as intellectual groups are being drawn to and resuscitated by the new movements.

This trend away from the hegemony of the establishment in the University should not be overstated. The organized university system is not effectively challenged by current movements. Although a few students and intellectuals have been able to escape from the dominance of the corporate university system, for the vast majority the restrictive university system has remained intact as the organizing force for daily routine and intellectual perspective. The new social movements and the centers of power they create nevertheless make possible attacks on the system itself.

Students, scholars, and intellectuals, then, have crucial interests and can play a crucial role in gathering the data, developing the theory and analysis, and creating the programs which will lay the intellectual foundations for a new political upsurge. This task can be accomplished in these ways:

1. Locally based movements need data about local social and economic conditions, about local power structure, the political life of the community, demographic facts, etc. For example, a group concerned with making peace a central issue in a local political party will want data about defense economy, about other local effects of the arms race and cold war; a group concerned with fair housing will need data about real estate practices, about sources of profit from housing discrimination, about the proper content for a fair housing ordinance, etc.

2. In addition to research focussed on particular locales, there is an equal need for extensive analysis of aspects of the national economic and political systems. Studies of the economic and social effects of the cold war, critical analysis of existing economic programs with regard to poverty, unemployment, social services, public planning, education, cultural life, housing, scientific research -- this is the kind of intellectual enterprise which an increasing number of America's intellectuals need now to undertake.

These two kinds of research, though maintaining the integrity of the scholar and the subject matter, is nevertheless frankly partisan. In it, students and intellectuals enlist their skills not for the paper rewards of the degree or academic position but the human values.

3. Perhaps the most important contribution intellectuals can make to the construction of a new politics lies in the realm of *critical journalism.* The attack on corporate privilege, on vested interest, on conditions at the local level -- these require independent journalism. Through their own journals, many of which have begun to appear in the last three years, the new radicals can and do engage in the kind of exchange which is essential for the construction of political program and stragegy for the next decade.

At a time when social science research seems increasingly trivial and microscopically focused, the return to a journalism of radical exposure would provide a model of cultural work for students and young scholars which could bring their efforts to an engagement with relevant politics. It would be as much an improvement in style as it would be to content if an effective alternative to managed news were independently created, staffed by independent scholars and journalists.

New Priorities

The political insurgency, the rebirth of a populist liberalism, would upset existing American priorities and could rewrite the nation's agenda. The international military and political commitment of the United States -- particularly the continuation of the suicidal and wasteful race for quantitative military superiority -- are incompatible with commitments to solve the crushing problems of unemployment, racial injustice, poverty and slum housing, medical care, and the thousands of other unment needs of our society.

A serious effort by serious men attacking our domestic problems with the pressure of a popular movement behind them would be nothing less than a re-ordering of priorities for our society. In James Reston's phrase, "equal time for America," would require a vast shift of resources away from the arms race and away from attempts to implement an American Grand Design on the world.

This point should be emphasized: by concentrating attention on domestic problems, and by demanding the concentration of resources on their solution, the poor and dispossessed of the United States (and every other country) could force a cessation of the arms race. The objective meaning of their demands for goods and social services would

(Continued on page 8)

S.T.O.P.

and students sent off the assembly lines ready to take their part in business, government and industry. But such is not the case. We all know a dozen stories of how industry and business regard us as incompetents good only for retraining if our academic and activities records seem to demonstrate that we're trainable. We all know the vague feeling that maybe they're right--we don't really feel trained for doing anything and that degree in English qualifies us not at all for a job in an insurance company, so if only we tried graduate school...

There are a number of reasons for this--at least two of them relevant to the present discussion. The first is that we, as students, know --from our point of view--how the system operates--that, in brief, teaching and learning are largely irrelevent to the universities' position in modern America, but that grades, credits, pre-requisites, and procedures are not. Thus, we are not inclined to take the classroom and its functions--or what it stands for (be that 'job preparation' or the traditional values represented by a classroom) very seriously. Little wonder then that dedicated teachers like William Kennick of Amherst are driven to lament:

"That something is wrong is revealed in countless ways. Among them, your casual attitude toward class preparation and attendance, your willingness to get by and make a certain mark, your impatience with difficult authors and problems, the miserable and incorrigible slovenliness of your writing, your almost catatonic unresponsiveness in class, your general contempt for detail and for getting things right, your incessant pleas for more time in which to complete assignments for which you have been given ample time, the superficiality of your reading, the vulgar ways in which you spend your leisure time, the Neanderthal level of your conversation, and your penchant for treating your teachers as paid entertainers..."

Dr. Kennick is of course right--but students are only partially to blame. For we are victims of a system that condemns the kind of alternative behaviors that he would have us temulate, to irrelevancy.

The second reason why the system does not work -- and why we remain unprepared for anything when we step out of college -- is that we tend to throw out the good with the bad. We feel alienated from the total system. Yet, some of the traditional academic values and humanistic motivations that are part of the tradition of universities do survive. But in chucking the system, we chuck them as well.

To the extent, then, that the Clark Kerr mentality has succeeded, it has defeated itself -- for it has made the university not more relevant to the modern world--but irrelevant and superficial.

And that is the real reason why we are here tonight. For after we have got the parking fee back down to three dollars we still must build something worth parking FOR! We need to be concerned with intellectual process as well as living standards. We need two things then. We, students and faculty, need the power (again by RIGHT and not by permission) to implement the changes that we see as necessary. And we need to devote some serious thinking to deciding what kind of university (intellectually speaking) that we want to park at.

And that latter job we cannot do without faculty help. Faculty, you are not off the hook. You need to risk an honest dialogue with your students. For as things stand now, with few exceptions, I cannot think of any faculty members I know as *standing for* anything--be it political, social, moral, radical, conservative, moderate, sensible or downright stupid--unless it be in some vagary as The Great Value of Education. And if you do not stand for anything, we who are supposed to learn from you, will have a more difficult time of it. You need to stop lining up with the administrators who govern your career and start lining up with the students who have come to share in the ideas you have made your life-work.

And so I appeal to both students and faculty. Let us join together, let us discover our common identity, let us--jointly--demand for ourselves the power to build--not merely a better set of rules--but a university community in the best sense of the word, and in whatever shape that we decide it should take.

ADULT CHAPTER GARY INDIANA

The effect of adult participation in SDS constitutes a serious, highly relevant and challenging issue. One basic difference between adult and student participation in SDS lies in the disruptive effect on the total personal life of the participating adult. It must be understood that the adult, when confronted with the choice between the system that engulfs him and the internal upheaval caused by that system on his personality, must make a choice and a commitment or align himself with the foul dehumanized structure in which he and his family exist.

Therefore, if acceptance of the challenge to form adult chapters disrupts our family lives, we welcome the disruption rather than prostitute ourselves to an oblivious and psychodelic society. Hence a few of us in Gary have started an adult chapter of SDS. Through this medium, we hope to facilitate the creation of a climate in our area which will serve as a vehicle for a radical movement for a democratic society.

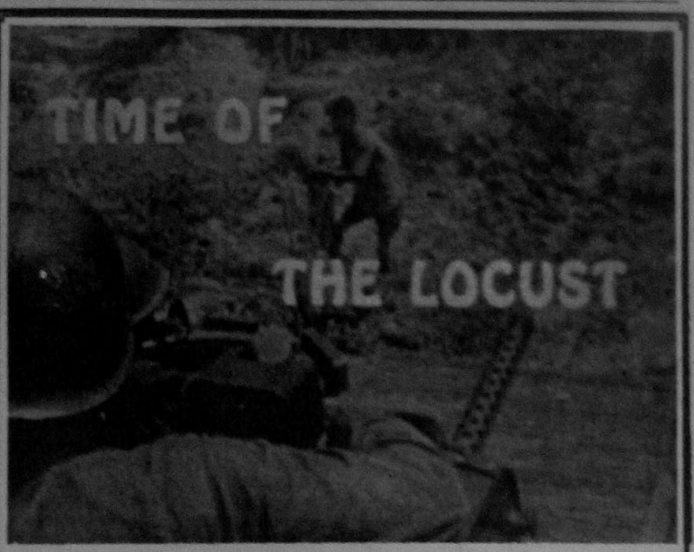
The potential in Northwest Indiana and particularly in Gary, (the city build by the steel industry for the steel industry) for an adult SDS chapter is exceptionally high because of the university, the area's labor history and orientation, and the massive black ghetto in Gary's Midtown section. The program for the chapter is presently being batted about by the members. The program possibilities include a full-time draft counsellor, to inform the kids of their rights under the UMTS Act, and to give them alternatives to the draft. To assist Indiana University, Gary Campus, SDS organizers with the establishment of an SDS Chapter. The necessity of such a student organization is apparent when one reflects on the void of radical student activity on the campus. Our membership is also enthusiastic about the possibilities of a community union within the city's black ghetto.

As the JOIN slogan pointed out "When people get together they can make changes." People in Gary are getting together but change is painfully slow. A new and promising involvement at the Indiana University Campus is the recent formation of the Humanist Society. The Society was organized by a few SDS members with the hope of creating a radical dialogue among the students. Activity within the group includes up to 60 students discussing at bi-monthly meetings such topics as "Black Power" and the "New Left." The initial involvement of students is beyond the wildest dreams of their organizers. After this initial dialogue engagement, the organizers will then begin to press for the creation of an SDS Chapter. In some of the earlier meetings attended, the students in their dialogue showed almost a complete lack of political and social awareness and yet tremendous sincerity and enthusiasm in dealing with such radical topics. To put it bluntly, we were overwhelmed by the student enthusiasm and the tremendous groundwork laid by the organizers in three weeks time. We understand that the new editor of their campus newspaper is also an SDS member.

On the peace front, a stepped-up activity is taking place with the formation of an independent peace group. The make-up of this group includes a few "old lefties" and quite a few "liberals." Their immediate plans are fund-raising for the purpose of distributing a monthly peace newsletter locally. They have indicated to us, and there is some hope to assume, that they will kick in some cash to support our full-time draft-counsellor when that's ready to come off.

The potential for organizing in Gary's stiffling Black Ghetto has prospects. The Ghetto confines seem invisible to us "Whiteys" but, in reality, are structured so that 55% of the negro population occupies less than 25% of the city's area. De facto segregation exists on such a high level in the city's schools that 3 schools are located less than 100 yards from one another. In the heart of the Ghetto, primitive conditions exist. People are living in multiple dwellings oftentimes without basic utilities furnished. As a rule rather than the exception, slum landlords turn out to be "pillars of the community." The Ghetto is absent of any type of organization. All previous attempts to mobilize the poor have to date failed. This failure can be attributed to sellouts initiated by infiltration by the power structure. For the first time in the city's electoral history, the people of the Ghetto went independent. Even though their independent candidate lost, their discontent with the local machine was registered. To date, we've been talking to welfare recipients with the hope of gaining their confidence and understanding their problems. In the future, we hope the chapter will decide to play an important part in the forming of a community union for the poor.

-- Jim Wright
Gary, Indiana



A 15-minute documentary film Produced and edited by Peter Gessner.

In cooperation with the American Friends Service Committee and the Inter-University Committee for Debate on Foreign Policy.

"Time of the Locust" is the culmination of a nine-month search for and integration of film materials on the war not widely seen in this country. The film draws upon American newsfilm, the voices of participants and officials, combat footage of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, and unreleased material filmed by Japanese television camera units. The film is an attempt to present the various faces of the war, and to bring to the surface some of the implications of the use of American power.

The S.D.S. national office now has available 5 prints, copies, of "Time of the Locust" at $7.50 each for two (2) weeks for chapters and other interested groups.

Write:

S.D.S. Film Library
c/o Students for a Democratic Society
Room 205
1608 W. Madison
Chicago, Ill. 60612

NAC minutes

report on NAC meeting of Dec. 8, 1966

Members present: Calvert, Jacobson, Berkowitz, Silber, Azle (JOIN), others Bateman,

1) Finances - the Free U. of Florida is co-sponsoring and has contributed to the SDS educational conference of three days following the NC in Berkeley Dec. 29-31. The NO sent $300 to the planning committee to be used to build the National Council and December Conference.

2) SNCC dope raid in Chicago - Dec. 3 Chicago cops entered the Chicago office of SNCC under vague pretenses and without a warrant. Searching the offices, the cops confiscated Black Power literature and "found" $5,000 of marajuana and barbituates. Chicago SNCC and friends are putting out a newspaper ad attacking the police state methods and their use by those in power against social protest organizations. SDS was asked to sign this statement. The NAC unanimously voted to mandate the National Secretary to sign.

3) Warning - the Chicago Tribune sent a reporter to interview Calvert (National Sec.) The Trib is preparing a story on SDS as infiltrating the recent U. of Chicago Conference on the Draft (no official SDS reps attended but Dick Flacks of the U. of Chicago and Paul Lauter of AFSC were there) and SDS as advocating illegal draft resistance (they know about the referendum on advocating resistance to the draft, get your votes in on this question). They will probably make the recent Berkeley Strike appear to have been planned and manipulated from the N.O. (a good joke-no?). TIME mag. called today so they may have picked up on this Trib. angle.

4) L.A. Region - Doug Norberg of Los Angeles wants to travel in Arizona and New Mexico to build for the NC and Dec. Conference. Needs gas money. Greg to refer to the planning committee in San Francisco.

5) Travellers - Bob Speck in Austin to travel in S.W. and write report for the N. C. Vice-Pres. Carl Davidson and Pres. Nick Egleson will submit similar reports (on travels).

6) NC Agenda - Pres. responsible to give tentative agenda to be published in NLN so members can come prepared with suggestions, modifications, etc. Look in the next issue.

7) Cars - two cars donated to SDS for office use. Invoices arrived. Dee Jacobson to look into various types of insurance.

8) REP - Mike Goldfield was in town and talked long and encouragingly to Calvert. Greg will go to Ann Arbor on 12/12 for two days of talks with REP staff.

9) Staff - Don Tilke gave notice that he will leave as of 12/12 as Financial Sec. Tom Condit (Membership Sec.) and Mark Kleiman (Chapter Correspondant) plan to remain on the Coast after the Conference. Jack Bateman plans to leave the office early in Jan. (Literature Correspondant). Art Rosenblum has been put back on staff as printer (he went off to do private work). The NO got some more stock: 1 new press, folding machine, a cheap postage scale. A typewriter was stolen from the office yesterday.

lovingly submitted Earl Silber

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America and the New Era

be to make continued support for massive military programs untenable.

Even now, the growing revolt of American negroes is forcing the old question: What profit if America gains the whole world and loses its own soul? There is only one worthy answer which our generation of Americans can give – as James Baldwin puts it, we must "achieve our country" and thereby "change the history of the world."

THE NEW PROGRAM

American politics presently excludes and discourages more ideas about problem-solving than it attracts and uses. A new agenda for America would open the scope of alternatives which could be legitimately debated in political forums. And creative attempts to reach solutions to pressing problems are desperately needed. Proposals and policies adequate to the needs of the society have yet to be offered in political contexts.

Nevertheless, the nature of these programs is discernible; and it is essential that men begin to think of the issues. American politics could be considering, if it began to democratically represent those now excluded from its functioning. Such programs would include the following:

Towards a Democratic Economy

a new concept of full employment must be demanded, wherein people are fully employed in the fabric of a creative society and are as well "workers" involved in a productive system.

This would entail a society which plans publicly, not merely to handle "the new automation," but through general participation in decision making. Meeting the most basic and general material needs must be made part of the inculcation of democracy as an economic goal.

To obtain this goal will involve not only major governmental efforts to meet current needs, but also will entail radical changes in the social and economic structures. The question is not whether radical changes will be needed, but how and by whom they will be carried out, and to whom the new society will be responsible. The overall strategic goal is not merely the solution of problems by making incremental changes in the present structure, but the development of a revolutionary trajectory which starts with tactical demands built on the most elementary felt human needs, and advances to a thorough change in social and economic structure.

The agenda, then, is progressive, each step leading, hopefully, toward the society which is responsible to man's vision, rather than man's vision being limited by the conservative nature of society. The key is that not merely a "list" of liberals' demands find their basis in human problems and human hopes, in dissatisfaction with the present state of human life and its socio-economic institutions.

Thus, at all levels of political life the issue of economic power must be raised. Limited "issue" demands will remain hollow unless they attack the sources of dissatisfaction. Thus educational reformers, as an example, not only must lobby for more funds for education, but must strike at the destructive economic forces which now wish to imprison the University in the Cold War and in anti-social pecuniary production.

The new edicts strategic goals fall into a number of basic categories:

making a whole range of increased in present programs and progressive changes in others. This includes general redistribution of income as part of a guaranteed minimum standard of living for all people, this to be accomplished by a variety of mechanisms: progressive taxes without the dead weight of special interest loopholes, effective and realistic unemployment compensation, and a much shortened work-week. A program with these goals would also have to have a greatly expanded notion of the basic kinds of social services required: national health insurance for all citizens, an educational system capable of preparing American youth for the technological revolution and also guaranteeing advanced training for all who could benefit from it, a massive housing program whose minimum goal would be the replacement or renewal of America's 16 million substandard housing units – made available at rents and prices working people can afford. Such a notion of social services would have to include a sophisticated understanding of the effects of deprivation, and therefore would provide special aid to families with children whose education is curtailed because of financial restrictions, and would especially encourage minority groups' families and children in their attempts at attaining education. Retraining programs for technologically displaced workers would be part of general governmental and private planning for automation, while other public programs, especially in depressed areas, would be greatly expanded. Finally, a vastly expanded foreign aid program with the goal of industrializing the developing nations would be crucial to the utilization of America's unused industrial capacity.

However, it must be realized that simply adding incremental programs will not even solve the most desperate and immediate problems, let alone lead toward the full reconstruction of society. Steps which would defeat the growth of corporation "government" in America and make more definite and more direct experiments in democratic planning and public social control, in the direction of building a true "public establishment," not to ratify corporate possibilities, but to counter and to serve as a counter-model for the rise in corporation power. These efforts would be aimed ultimately at the elimination of the islands of private elite control as the "solution" to our society's problems and as the "path" to our society's future.

This kind of program should be put in such a way as to confront the going system with increasing demands for genuine achievement of the goals. Reforms as mere palliatives or marginal "solutions" are reprehensible. But if the same reform programs are accelerated as steps toward more and more radical demands, they should be viewed differently. It is not simply the current "demand" by itself that tells the story: it is toward what it is leading that is important.

Much of this program depends on the way American society deals with automation. This would force leads to the possibility of a world of plenty. It could give America a chance to help the world while living at relatively prosperous levels. Automation could "give leisure" to all, and change the meaning of "work."

Its most revolutionary potential is that it allows general social control of enterprise without chaining men to terrible self-denial in order to achieve high-production levels. It frees workers – allowing them to decide to be at leisure, but without sacrificing basic consumer goods. It could leave time to participate in decision-making and self-development.

But the real question behind these possibilities is who controls the process, and how and for whom it will be used. Now it emphasizes an economy operating for the few, run by the few – it accelerates oligopoly and elite rule of economic life. If the promise of automation is to become reality, the celebration of "corporation government" as the new "American way" must be attacked at its core, and like other, older myths, destroyed by men and tools of reason.

The Abolition of All Forms of Racial Injustice

If the real needs of Negroes are to be met, there will have to be radical structural changes which extend beyond the question of color. To open up an inadequate system to Negroes cannot be seen as sufficient change. However, discrimination should be eliminated through such minimal governmental and non-governmental action as follows:

a) the denial of Federal funds to states and communities where official practices enforce segregation or deny civil rights;

b) the passage of the present civil rights legislation including the Public Accomodations section;

c) the full and militant enforcement of existing civil rights legislation, court orders, and executive orders directed at abolishing segregation in schools, housing, employment, and public facilities;

d) Federal protection – military if necessary – of civil rights direction action.

e) further civil rights legislation, including at least:

1. the permanent establishment of the Civil Rights Commission;
2. provision of Federal registrars to aid Negroes encountering discrimination in registering to vote;
3. A Fair Employment Practices Commission

f) the activation of the 14th Amendment, involving the reapportionment of Congress and state legislatures;

g) the initiation of a mass literacy and general education program by the Federal government.

These are the demands which would be made upon governmental institutions. The movement itself must continue its demonstrations and educational programs.

It is absolutely essential that Negroes and other minority groups be free to organize and wield independent political power in their own interest. This is to be encouraged at every level of government and within private organizations such as trade unions. To seek such representation is in the best democratic tradition, and charges by white liberal about "racism in reverse" are strange, to say the least.

The Ending of the Nuclear Arms Race

The US ought to undertake a series of steps which would facilitate two essential goals: first, the achievement of sufficient detente with the Communist bloc that nuclear holocaust will be avoided and the threat of holocaust eventually abolished; second: the rechanneling of resources away from arms production to the fulfillment of basic domestic and world-wide social needs.

At least the nuclear disarmament of existing nuclear powers is necessary to stop China and other powers from developing nuclear arsenals, as well as simply to prevent a nuclear conflict involving one or more nuclear powers. While the resolution of conflict between the US and China – will admittedly be very difficult if even possible, those conflicts must be manifested in non-nuclear ways. Thus opportunities must be grasped for reaching agreements with the Communist bloc to achieve an end to the arms race and at least nuclear disarmament. Specifically the US should announce immediately the permanent ending of all nuclear military testing programs; accept proposals to negociate schemes for disengagement in Central Europe, and for nuclear free zones for Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, Asia and the Pacific: halt all programs of militarization of outer space and negotiate its denuclearization. As one step, the US can now cut its military budget without impairing its deterrent or overkill (vide the Melman proposals for a $22 billion arms budget reduction). The resulting funds could be utilized in the socially useful ways indicated above.

For Democratic Foreign Policy

American intervention in the affairs of other countries, when directed at forstalling or suppressing social revolution and protecting US property interests, must be ended. Instead, the US should support movements for genuine and far-reaching social reform, of the kind which directly and concretely benefit the people of the country involved. Especially, socialism and neutralism in underdeveloped countries should cease to be grounds for American suspicion and hostility; in many places such policies should be encouraged.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

These international and domestic policies are merely first steps. They are essential, though – without their realization we are faced with the prospect of deepening domestic and world wide economic hardships for Negroes and other minority groups, many small-scale guerrilla wars with the US supporting counter-insurgency and eventual nuclear holocaust. Necessary for the eventual realization of the goals articulated here are structural economic, and political changes, though a good start can be made within the existing structure. But none of these changes will occur without the major efforts to mobilize the kinds of political action suggested.

Once the policies sketched here are instituted, then men can begin in earnest to construct the world to which they aspire. In our own country, a concerted effort to abolish poverty, unemployment, and racial inequality will be a prelude to the effort to bring in a participatory democracy – a society in which men have, at last, the chance to make the decisions which determine their lives and in which power is used for the widest social benefit. Throughout the world, the ending of the nuclear arms race will be a first step in a long effort to achieve universal disarmament and a warless world. The restrictions of big power intervention and imperialism will create the conditions under which the exploitation of two-thirds of the world by those who are rich, white, powerful, will have ended; and all men will begin to share equally.

America and the New Era will be available from the National Office in pamphlet form at 25¢ per copy.

The Care and Feeding of Power Structures (N.L.N., Dec. 9, 1966) will also be available from the N. O. at 10¢ per copy, in pamphlet form.

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